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A
L E T T E R

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

CH---S T-----ND, Esq;

The SECOND EDITION.



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A
L E T T E R

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

CH---S T-----ND, Esq;

S I R,

THE Propriety of this Address will, I presume, be generally acknowledged, when I declare myself a Soldier, and that our present military Establishment is the Subject of my Letter. The repeated Assurances of your Affection for the Army in general, your Zeal for the Interests of the Officers, your Promises of being *an Advocate in their Cause*, whenever a Peace should render any Reduction necessary; your favourable Opinion of our Loyalty to the Crown, and our Reverence for the

A 2 Constitution,

Constitution, made us rejoice in the Power that you assumed in the Execution of your Office : A Power, unknown to any former Secretary at War. We looked upon Mr. T——d as the Soldier's Friend, his Patron, his Protector. We were assured he would employ his Abilities in covering us from any unnecessary Severities, and his Eloquence in representing our Services in the most favourable Light to our Sovereign and our Country. If he sometimes, perhaps indeed too often, seemed to overlook the Merit of Seniority and Service, or gave Rank and Preferment to younger officers, *who are to deserve them hereafter*, yet a partial Error was forgiven for his Regard to the whole : The private Vice was lost in the publick Virtue.

BUT in what manner, Sir, shall we account for your present total Change of Character, rather indeed a direct Contradiction to all your former Sentiments and Conduct ? By what new Arguments is the Reasoning of Years in a few short Days confuted ? Is it from the Variety of Genius, the Flexibility of Spirit, or the natural Uncertainty of all human Understanding, that we thus start from one Extreme to the other ? Or, instead of these
subtile

subtile and metaphysical Refinements, does it not merely and simply proceed from first admiring our own Parts, and then raising the Admiration of others, by shewing the Facility with which we can dispute and argue, and only not convince, on both Sides of a Question? However, certain it is, that another Mr. T——d now appears upon the Scene. It is confessed, he still promises to support Administration in the full Vigour and Extent of its Measures. He still swears by the Revolution and the *Hanover* Succession. He is still a *Whig in Blood and in Sentiment. His Ancestors were Whigs.* But, behold! a weak and wilful Opposition is formed. He gives it all private Encouragement, yet treats it in publick with the Contempt it deserves. Some honest well-meaning Country-gentlemen are alarmed at the dreadful Name of a standing Army. They had formerly been distinguished by the Name of *Tories*. Mr. T——d, however, descends from his hereditary Dignity of *Whiggism*, enters into their Councils, professes his Apprehensions of evil Designs in the Ministry, and his Terrors of adding to the Power of the Crown. He promises his Assistance in Parliament; but when he finds a certain Right Honourable Person,

son, hardly to be suspected of being partial to Administration, not only supporting their Plan, but wishing it had been enlarged, he prudently declines entering into the Contest, gets a convenient Fit of the Cholick, and retires.

BUT what a lamentable Figure have our Ministers made through this whole Transaction? Is this the Manner in which they propose to maintain the Reputation, the Dignity, the Power, of their Administration? They have suffered their Decisions to be canvassed at Sir *F——s D——d's*, and even to be made the Subject of political Altercation at a Tavern. They have raised a Party from Insignificance and Obscurity, to controul their Measures, and dispute their Directions. A Citizen and Broker harangues against standing Armies, in the neither Prose nor Poetry of his own Heroicks. He stands in the Pass of Liberty, like *another Leonidas* at the Pass of *Thermopylae*. Yes, Sir, I say, *another Leonidas*; and I am authorized in making the Comparison. Mr. *P——t* has been compared, by a Right Reverend Divine, to *Scipio Africanus*, for carrying the Parish of *Hayes* to Church; and a late Vinegar-Merchant is another *Hannibal*, in his Pas-

sage

sage over the *Alpes*. Thus speaks his Epitaph in *St. Paul's Church-yard*, *Hic jacet ille alter Annibal, qui, per montes et aspera vitæ, ACETO sibi viam patefecit.*

BUT what could our Ministers propose to themselves by submitting the Determination of this important Measure to the Vivacity of Mr. T——d, or to the graver Weight of Reasoning among the *Tories*? They had given Mr. T——d a very valuable Employment. Did they imagine they could fix his very volatile Spirit of Politicks by Obligations? Great Spirits scorn to be obliged, and Gratitude is a mean Acknowledgment of another's Superiority. But then the *Tories*: — They reason upon Principles, unvaried by Circumstances, and upon Maxims, that once were true. “ A
 “ standing Army would have been dan-
 “ gerous to Liberty some fifty Years ago ;
 “ therefore it is now, and must be for
 “ ever dangerous. Ambitious, weak, or
 “ wicked Princes, have endeavoured to
 “ maintain a standing Army, with appa-
 “ rent Views of enslaving or oppressing
 “ their Subjects ; therefore a Prince, nei-
 “ ther ambitious, weak, nor wicked, shall
 “ not maintain a Force sufficient to protect
 “ his Dominions and his People from a
 “ foreign

“ foreign Enemy.” Did our Ministers propose to reason with such Reasoners? What violent Passion must that Man have for Disputation, who would argue with Mr. B——d’s Understanding?

“ BUT our Ministry might imagine, it
 “ would give a Proof of their Integrity
 “ and Moderation, thus to submit their
 “ Measures to every kind of Inspection.”
 They should rather be assured, that such Condescensions have an Air of Timidity, which may make the most insignificant Party considerable; give them an high Idea of their own Importance, and encourage the Vanity, Caprice, or Artifices of their Leaders. The Maxim in *Tacitus* will, in a certain Degree, be true with regard to all Administrations, as well as that of *Tiberius*, that their Measures can never be supported, if they are subjected to the Opinions of Multitudes; *nisi ratio uni reddatur.*

HAVING, I hope, sufficiently proved that Impartiality of Spirit, with which I have turned Author; having shewn myself neither too much a Friend to Administration, which I do not absolutely revere, nor yet too much an Enemy to the
 Opposition,

Opposition, which indeed I do not totally despise, I shall now beg leave, Sir, under the Sanction of your great Name, to give the military Establishment, proposed by Ministry, to the Publick. I shall then repeat the Arguments used in Favour of the Measure, and the Objections against it, with equal Candour; with Succinctness and Simplicity, *for I profess not talking.*

IN the Plan proposed by Administration for the military Establishment in *Great Britain*, there was a Decrease of 1321 Men, compared with the Reduction after the Peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, and consequently a saving, in proportion, upon the Estimate for maintaining them. This saving is not in itself very considerable, but it shews some Attention to that Oeconomy so absolutely necessary in our present Circumstances. But supposing a military Power dangerous to civil Liberty, yet certainly the Plan, that lessens the Number of Forces in this Kingdom, even though it increases them in some other Part of our Dominions, must acquit our Administration of any criminal Designs of enlarging the Power of the Crown. *Great Britain* is, and, I trust, will ever be our

Seat of Empire. Here therefore an ambitious Monarch, if indeed a Monarch's Ambition can ever consist in enslaving his Subjects, will endeavour to form an Interest, and erect an Influence either dangerous, or destructive to Liberty. *Ireland* has given Proofs of her being as jealous of her Freedom as *England*, and as apt to resent any seeming Act of arbitrary Power in the Crown, under whatever Title or Appearance of Prerogative; yet the Gentlemen of *Ireland* are willing to receive a very considerable Addition to their military Establishment. Our Colonies are at too great a Distance for the Soldiers or Officers to feel any undue Influence either of ministerial or sovereign Authority. Wisely, therefore, either to prevent a real Danger, or obviate the Suspicion of Danger, to our Liberties, has the Mass of our military Strength been transferred to *Ireland* and *America*.

It is not, however, without a just Indignation, that I think myself obliged to repeat these absurd Suspicions; these senseless Insinuations. Yet if I could believe they were generally received, I should be more ashamed of the Ingratitude of my Countrymen, than angry at their Injustice.

However,

However, it would not be wholly inconsistent with the Spirit of Gentlemen of the Army, who have the Honour of sitting in the House of Commons, to vindicate the Character of their Brother-officers, as well as their own, from the Malignity of such Suspicions. I do not mean, that they are worth resenting, but perhaps they should not be wholly unnoticed.

BUT, we are told, that the Liberty of *Rome* was destroyed by a dissolute, licentious Soldiery ; or, according to modern Language, a standing Army. No ; and beware, O *Britain* ! by a venal and corrupted Senate were the Liberties of *Rome* destroyed. Long before the Tyranny of *Cæsar* did *Jugurtha* exclaim, *O urbem venalem & cito perituram, si emptorem invenerit !* Though private Persons might still maintain some feeble Sentiments of Honour and Probity, all public Virtue, and especially that peculiar *Roman* Virtue, Patriotism, was totally lost. Intrigue and Faction dictated the Decrees of the Senate : all popular Elections were carried by Bribery and Corruption ; all Offices were openly bought and sold ; the Provinces were given as Plunder to repair the broken Fortunes of an extravagant
 B 2 Nobility,

Nobility, and Luxury avenged the World,
that Ambition had conquered.

BUT *Oliver Cromwel*, so says that curious Collector of historical Facts, Mr. *B——d*, enslaved this Country by a standing Army. No; by Parliaments alone can the Liberty of this Nation either be oppressed or enslaved. The self-denying Ordinance of the Parliament alone placed *Cromwel* at the Head of the Army, and could alone have given him that Power, upon which he founded his Usurpation. Yet indeed all Liberty, all constitutional Liberty, was destroyed before he was placed thus uncontrollable at the Head of the Army. But a thousand Circumstances besides *Cromwel*'s own extraordinary Character, that concurred in producing this wonderful Event, must render our Apprehensions of ever seeing such another, perfectly ridiculous.

YET is this the Crisis chosen for suspecting either our Loyalty, or Love for our Country? Boasting, I confess, is not among the Virtues of a Soldier's Character; yet in the very Modesty of Facts we may venture to assert, that we have carried the military Glory of this Nation
to

to an Height she never knew before. We supported the Fatigues and Dangers of War, and purchased, with our Blood, an honourable, advantageous Peace. We are now to be reduced, because we are no longer necessary to support the Greatness we have raised. Be it so: If the Poverty of the State requires this little Saving, this frugal Difference between the half and whole Pay of a few Officers, we submit to our Fate without murmuring. We will not repent us of the Blood we have shed. Fatigue and Danger are the Honours, as well as Duties of our Profession. But let us not be slandered with Disaffection to our Country. Let us not unjustly, I had almost said, ungratefully, be charged with Crimes we abhor. We have fought in every Climate of the World, with a Spirit, that distinguished us from the Wretches, who fight for a Master. We conquered in the Spirit of Liberty, and are we now suspected of submitting to an abject, voluntary Slavery; of being ourselves the Instruments of Tyranny and Oppression? But what are they, who at once insult their Sovereign and the Gentlemen of the Army with such Suspicions? An Orator of Monosyllables and Adverbs, with his *this, that, here, there thing* Descriptions. Then,
that

that other convulsed Prolocutor, who mouths the patriotic Heroics of his *Leonidas* against a standing Army. The *Tories* too have joined in these Clamours of Oratory and Patriotism. They had been used to make Speeches against standing Armies, and in the Wisdom of their Integrity they still make Speeches against standing Armies. Let us, besides, acknowledge their pious Firmness in the Principles of their Forefathers, for they too hated standing Armies. They had long frightened themselves with some strange Association of Ideas between the Words *Soldiers* and *Slavery*, as Children are terrified with those of Darkness and Spirits. They could not immediately get the better of habitual Prejudices. Besides, they would willingly go down to their Constituents, as Country-gentlemen, determined to *correct the Errours; and oppose the Excesses of Administration*. Such Reasons may perhaps justify these Gentlemen, but surely will do very little Honour to the Wisdom of the Ministers, who have rendered an insignificant Party, capable of opposing and controlling their Measures.

I BELIEVE, Sir, it would give my Readers a very favourable Opinion of my Sincerity,

cerity, whatever they might entertain of my Prudence, if I should assure them, as indeed I may with great Truth, that I here proposed to give them your very animated Declamation at Sir *F——s D——d's*, in Aid of Mr. *B——d's* Oratory, Mr. *G——r's* Patriotism, and the obstinate Integrity of the *Tories*. But impossible! Impossible to give them even any Idea of the varied Tones of Elocution, such as yours; or that agitated Action, by which you talk, from Head to Foot. Then the Arguments of reasoning are so very different from those of declaiming. — However, I can assure them, That you treated the Army, the Ministers, and the Crown, with equal patriotic Diffidence and Suspicion. You urged the Necessity of preserving the Independence of Parliament, if we mean to preserve our Liberties; but impossible to preserve the Independence of Parliament, if we allow the Crown a Power of granting such numberless Commissions. The argumentative *therefore* followed in very syllogistical Conclusion; *We should not allow the Crown, &c.* You closed the Debate with a singular Proof of your own Self-conviction. You were not afraid to talk of dying. You promised

fed to maintain your present Sentiments to the Hour of your Death.

I SHALL not presume, Sir, to question the Force of this Reasoning; yet I could wish to be informed, whether the Independence of Parliament be not in equal Danger, and the Influence of the Crown equally extended by the present Scheme, as that proposed by the Ministry. Fathers, Uncles, Brothers in Parliament, will solicit for putting their Relations on full Pay, whenever there is a Vacancy. These Sollicitations will probably be more earnest, the Obligation in granting the Favour more binding, and the Officer, who receives it, may be tempted to be more grateful. But here let us return from the Consideration of partial Opinions, and examine the Measure before us in its own proper Merit.

It was proposed by Administration, to maintain eighty-six Regiments on the Military Establishment. The Number intended for *Great Britain* was considerably less, than that after the Peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*. The Remainder were to continue in, and to be paid by, *Ireland* and *America*. The first of these Countries had

had maintained 12,000 Men since the Year 1749, and it was presumed that, either in Gratitude for the Protection, which she has hitherto received from *Great Britain*, or in her Wisdom of deserving it hereafter, she would chearfully consent to an Augmentation. The Number proposed was either three or six Thousand. Her Abilities to support such an Augmentation could not be doubted; her Inclinations were presumed. She had grown opulent during even that War, by which this Country was almost impoverished. She had extended her Trade, without any Addition to her Taxes. One particular Reason made it her Interest to receive an additional Number of Troops, provided she was only obliged to pay them while they continued in the Country. It would prevent the Surpluses of her Revenues from being drawn out of her Treasury for foreign Purposes, or idly squandered away at Home, in infamous Jobs, or visionary Projects of Navigation and Canals. The Protestant Gentlemen of *Ireland* are, in general, willing to receive, and have often solicited the Government to build Barracks on their Estates. They consider the Soldiers as a Protection against the too formidable Numbers of the Roman

C Catholicks.

Catholicks. The Money they spend is very sensibly felt; they are greatly useful in the short Harvests of an uncertain Climate; and their Living almost wholly separated from the Natives in general, prevents all Apprehensions of military Oppressions; all Cause of Altercation or Quarrels. Such Ideas do the Gentlemen of *Ireland* entertain of a standing Army.

THE present Extent of our Conquests in *America* certainly requires a proportional Addition of Forces, for their Security and Defence. But there are other Considerations to evince the Necessity of maintaining such a Force. Our new Subjects (about an Hundred Thousand Persons) are all Roman Catholicks, enthusiastick, bigotted, and superstitious, in Proportion to their Ignorance; consequently, well-fitted for Martyrs in any religious Enterprize. Their Priests have not only corrupted the native honest Simplicity of the *Indians*, but added the Horrors of *French* Christianity to the natural Barbarism of *Savages*. Our own Colonies are jealous of their Mother-Country, and envious of each other's Prosperity. In the Province of *Pensylvania*, a very considerable Part of the Inhabitants are *Germans*, wholly

wholly unacquainted with the Laws and Manners, and Language of this Country. In the Time of their late Distress, they were most obstinate in refusing to comply with the Measures of Government, in raising either Men or Supplies, even for their own Security. It will be necessary, besides, to establish some new Systems of Police in all our different Colonies, that all may concur in bearing a Proportion of the general Expence of Government; and particularly, that they may be compelled *next Year*, however reluctantly, to maintain the Troops that are necessary for their Defence. For these Purposes, a very respectable Force is absolutely necessary; and, for these Purposes, our Ministers have made a considerable Augmentation to our Forces in that Part of the World.

YET, even there, the Spirit of Reduction and Oeconomy (our Ministry must forgive me) has been carried to a most blameable Excess. The four independent Companies, raised by King *William*, are reduced. Might they not have been incorporated, at least; for they have served the whole War, and were given as Rewards to Officers of Merit?

A CERTAIN Right Honourable Person hath asserted, that our present Peace is only *an armed Truce*. Perhaps, this Expression is rather oratorically, than strictly just. We shall, however, conceive a far more favourable Idea of the Advantages gained by this Peace, than some People are willing to allow, if we suppose, that the *French* and *Spaniards* will take the first Opportunity to break it. Be it therefore our Wisdom, since it is our Interest, to preserve these Advantages; nor can we preserve them without maintaining a military Force, sufficient to deter our Enemies from attempting to wrest them from us, or to frustrate their Attempts. To talk of the Expence of a Measure necessary to our Safety, is, *very wisely*, to prefer the Interest of a Part to the Welfare of the Whole. Thus, in another Instance of our Wisdom, we put the imaginary Terrours of a standing Army in Balance with the unquestionable Designs of an enraged and desperate Enemy.

LET us, with Candour, acknowledge, that the general Inclination of our Ministry to Frugality has been most laudable. Never did Nation want it more, for never were such wasteful Squanderers as our
late

late Ministers. But there is an Oeconomy, that, by preventing the Execution of some important, salutary Measure, becomes most ignominious, as well as ruinous to a State. Such is the paltry Difference of Expence between the half and whole Pay of an inconsiderable Number of Officers. Besides, by the present Reduction, all these Half-pay Officers are to be maintained by *Great Britain* alone. If they had been continued in full Pay, they would have received it from *Ireland* and *America*.

UPON the whole, the original Plan, proposed by Administration, was barely sufficient to perform the Services, which the great Extent of our Conquests had rendered necessary. By this Plan, a Foundation was laid for maintaining such a military Force, as might keep the Nation in a respectable State of Defence. Even the Expence of this most necessary Measure was attentively and frugally considered. It was proposed to reduce the private Men, and keep up a greater Number of Regiments and Officers. It had then only been necessary, upon any Emergency, to recruit the private Men, which might be done in a much shorter Time, and with far less Expence, than that of raising

raising new Corps. In point of Discipline, the Men, so blended into the old Regiments, would have certainly learned their Exercise sooner and better, than if they were commanded by unexperienced Officers, and all placed together in new-raised Corps.

THIS wise, important, salutary Measure was lost by the Pusillanimity of Administration. They meanly submitted it to the Declamations of Mr. T——d, the Talking of Mr. B——d, and the distorted Oratory of Mr. G——r. The *Tories* too, all honour to their Understanding! persisted in adhering to their former Declarations against standing Armies, without regard to the present Circumstances of the Nation. May they never have Reason to lament this Perverseness of Integrity; this obstinate, undistinguishing Adherence to Principles. May the Ministry never have Cause to repent them of having given up a salutary, wise, well-planned Measure to the Decision of Talkers; and, may you, Sir, continue to shine and shew your Parts on either Side of every Debate, without endangering the Safety, Honour and Liberty of your Country.

I am, SIR, &c.

Post-

Postscript.

SINCE I wrote my Letter I am informed, that Seventy is the Sum total of all the Regiments kept up in all Parts of his M——y's Dominions. Unfortunately for me, I am in one of the sixteen, which you, Sir, have been the means of breaking. To you, therefore, and almost to you alone; to you, their Patron, their Advocate, their Protector, are the Officers of sixteen Corps indebted for their present Distress, and future Misery. They are to support their Poverty with Dignity: They are to starve like Gentlemen. If I may judge by my own Feelings of the Sensibility of others, by their own Expression of what they feel, you, Sir, have much to fear from their Resentment, at least from their Despair.

BUT whatever you may possibly suffer from either, will be richly overpaid by your reflecting on the Artifices, the Intrigue, the Eloquence, the Abilities you have exerted upon this Occasion. You will rejoice, *no Doubt of it*, in the Consciousness

sciousness of your own Integrity of Character, the Purity of your Zeal for the publick Service, and that disinterested Patriotism, which dictated your Conduct. Like other *virtuous* Men, you may be supposed to glory in suffering for *Virtue's* Sake ; and, as an Encouragement to your maintaining this new Character a little longer than usual, permit me to recommend to you a Remark of Mr. *Hume's* on Lord *Churchill's* conscientious Desertion of *James II.* “ This Conduct was a signal
 “ Sacrifice to publick Virtue of every Du-
 “ ty in private Life, and required *for ever*
 “ *afterwards* the most upright, the most
 “ disinterested, and most publick-spirited
 “ Behaviour to render it justifiable.”





